

Message Text

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E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PINT, SW

SUBJ: SWEDISH PARLIAMENT DEBATES FOREIGN POLICY

1. BEGIN UNCLASSIFIED: BEGIN SUMMARY: THE SPRING 1978 FOREIGN POLICY DEBATE IN THE SWEDISH PARLIAMENT WAS HELD ON MARCH 15 AND PITTED FOREIGN MINISTER KARIN SODER, REPRESENTING GOS, AGAINST SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY LEADER OLOF PALME AND COMMUNIST PARTY CHAIRMAN LARS WERNER REPRESENTING THE OPPOSITION. ALTHOUGH MANY OF THE OFFICIAL POSITIONS ENUNCIATED BY MRS. SODER FIT INTO WHAT COULD BE CONSIDERED A BROAD NATIONAL CONSENSUS (SOME WOULD CHARACTERIZE IT AS NON-SOCIALIST IMPLEMENTATION OF BASICALLY SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC FOREIGN POLICY), THERE WERE SEVERAL POINTS OF EMPHASIS THAT COULD BE OBSERVED.

MAJOR ITEMS COVERED INCLUDED DISARMAMENT, THE NEW INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC ORDER, SOUTHERN AFRICA, THE HORN OF AFRICA, THE MIDDLE EAST, AND HUMAN RIGHTS. END SUMMARY

2. ON DISARMAMENT, MRS. SODER UNDERLINED OFT-REPEATED

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VIEWS OF THE URGENCY OF CONTROLLING THE BUILDUP OF NUCLEAR ARSENALS, AND EXPRESSED THE HOPE THAT THE CCD NEGOTIATIONS NOW GOING ON IN GENEVA WOULD LEAD TO A DRAFT COMPREHENSIVE NUCLEAR TEST BAN TREATY TO BE READY FOR SUBMISSION TO THE SSOD THIS SPRING. AT THE SAME TIME, FM STRESSED THE IMPORTANCE OF CONTROLLING CONVENTIONAL ARMS AS WELL, RECALLING IN THIS CONNECTION THE SWEDISH

PROPOSAL FOR A UN STUDY ON THE CONNECTION BETWEEN DISARMAMENT AND DEVELOPMENT.

THE QUESTION OF THE NEUTRON BOMB BECAME A HOT ITEM FOR DEBATE DURING THE SESSION. FOR HER PART, MRS. SODER SOUGHT TO REITERATE THE STANDARD SWEDISH GOVERNMENT POSITION OF CRITICIZING THE WEAPON WHILE RECALLING THE WIDER CONTEXT OF ARMAMENTS INTO WHICH IT FITS. IN HER WORDS, "THE SWEDISH GOVERNMENT HAS ON SEVERAL OCCASIONS CRITICIZED THE NEUTRON BOMB AS ONE OF SEVERAL EXAMPLES OF THIS ALARMING QUALITATIVE REARMAMENT OF NUCLEAR ARMED FORCES TAKING PLACE IN OUR PART OF THE WORLD, FOR EXAMPLE, BY THE INTRODUCTION OF MODERN MEDIUM-RANGE MISSILES." (A REFERENCE TO RECENT SWEDISH CRITICISM OF THE STATIONING OF SOVIET NUCLEAR SUBMARINES IN THE BALTIC.) PALME, ON THE OTHER HAND, DEVOTED ABOUT A SIXTH OF HIS 25-MINUTE SPEECH TO A VIGOROUS CONDEMNATION OF THE NEUTRON BOMB AND ITS PROPONENTS. HE FIRST RECALLED HOW THOSE WHO FAVOR THE WEAPON POINT TO ITS GREATER DETERRENT EFFECT, AS A POTENTIAL FOE KNOWS THE CHANCES OF ITS BEING USED ARE GREATER THAN FOR REGULAR NUCLEAR WEAPONS. THEN PALME CASTIGATED THE WEAPON AS HIS FELLOW SOCIALIST ALVA MYRDAL HAS DONE, AS AN "EXAMPLE OF STUDIED CRUELTY, A RESULT OF THE TRIUMPH OF THE WEAPONS TECHNOLOGISTS OVER ETHICAL DECENCY." PALME ALSO HIT OUT IN THIS CONNECTION AGAINST THE BOMB'S CREATION OF "LIVING DEAD" SOLDIERS WHO, SUBJECTED TO ITS RADIATION, COULD CONTINUE FIGHTING FOR SEVERAL LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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HOURS OR DAYS UNTIL ITS RADIATION TOOK EFFECT.

IN DISCUSSING THE MILITARY USEFULNESS OF THE BOMB, PALME QUOTED MIT RESEARCHER FRED KAPLAN, WHO HAD WARNED THAT THE USE OF SUCH A WEAPON IN THE EVENT OF A POSSIBLE SOVIET INVASION OF WEST GERMANY COULD DEVASTATE NOT ONLY AN INVADING FORCE, BUT ALSO LARGE NUMBERS OF NATO SOLDIERS AND GERMAN CIVILIANS, AS WELL AS IMPORTANT PARTS OF THE GERMAN SOCIAL STRUCTURE. PALME ALSO WARNED THAT IN CASE SUCH A WEAPON WERE USED, THE USSR WOULD STRIKE BACK WITH "DIRTY" NUCLEAR WEAPONS, THUS MAKING THE ORIGINAL AIM OF THE BOMB A DEAD ISSUE. SIMILARLY, PALME THOUGHT THE BOMB COULD IN CERTAIN SITUATIONS INDUCE A SOVIET PREEMPTIVE STRIKE IF AN EXTREMELY SENSITIVE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION WAS BREWING AND THE USSR FELT THAT THE US WOULD USE NEUTRON WEAPONS IN THE EVENT OF A GENERAL EUROPEAN WAR.

NOTE BY OC/T- MESSAGE DELAYED IN TRANSMISSION.

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PALME REMINDED HIS LISTENERS THAT THE NEUTRON BOMB
COULD LOWER THE THRESHOLD FOR THE USE OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS
AND BLUR THE DISTINCTION BETWEEN CONVENTIONAL AND NUCLEAR
WEAPONS--AN EVENTUALITY THAT COULD HAVE CHILLING
CONSEQUENCES. AT THE SAME TIME, HE STRESSED THAT HIS
OPPOSITION TO THE WEAPON IN NO WAY SHOULD BE CONSTRUED
AS ACCEPTANCE OF OTHER FORMS OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS, WHEREVER
THEY MAY BE STATIONED.

WERNER, FOR HIS PART, HARSHLY CONDEMNED THE NEUTRON
WEAPON AND ASKED MRS. SODER WHETHER SWEDEN WAS PREPARED
TO GO BEYOND ITS ROUTINE CONDEMNATIONS OF THE WEAPON, AND
FOLLOW THE EXAMPLE OF THE DUTCH GOVERNMENT. SHE REPLIED
THAT THE DUTCH GOVERNMENT WAS A NATO MEMBER AND THAT
SWEDEN DID NOT FEEL IT HAD THE RIGHT TO SPEAK ON THE ISSUE
IN SUCH A WAY AS A GOVERNMENT OF A STATE DIRECTLY CONCERNED
BY THE DECISION TO DEPLOY. ATTEMPTS BY WERNER TO PUSH THE
POINT IN FURTHER QUESTIONING DID NOT ELICIT ANY WILLINGNESS
TO GO BEYOND PREVIOUS STATEMENTS ON THE MATTER. WERNER'S
STATEMENTS ON THE MATTER, HOWEVER, SUGGEST THAT SWEDISH
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COMMUNISTS WILL ATTEMPT TO EXPLOIT THE ISSUE TO THE HILT
DURING THE COMING MONTHS, TO MOBILIZE MASS OPINION IN WAYS
REMINISCENT OF THE VIETNAM MOVEMENT, AND TO PUSH THE GOS
INTO A STRONGER AND MORE UNEQUIVOCAL CONDEMNATION OF

THE US POSITION.

3. IN SOME OF HER OTHER REMARKS, MRS. SODER STRESSED THE NEED FOR A FURTHER DEVELOPMENT OF ALL-EUROPEAN COOPERATION IN THE "HELSINKI SPIRIT." SHE EXPRESSED REGRET THAT THE BELGRADE FOLLOW-UP MEETING DID NOT PRODUCE ANY NEW DECISIONS IN SUCH AREAS AS CONFIDENCE-BUILDING MILITARY MEASURES, AND THAT THE FINAL COMMUNIQUE WAS BEREFT OF MENTION ABOUT HUMAN RIGHTS. HOWEVER, SHE THOUGHT IT TOO EARLY TO PRONOUNCE A FINAL JUDGEMENT ON THE CONTRIBUTION OF THE BELGRADE MEETING TO THE DETENTE PROCESS. REGARDING THE THEME OF THE NEW INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC ORDER, MRS. SODER SAW THE CRUX OF THE PROBLEM IN THE WAY IN WHICH RESOURCES COULD BE TRANSFERRED FROM THE INDUSTRIAL TO THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES AND THE IMPROVEMENT OF THE LATTER'S ABILITY TO SUPPLY THEIR OWN NEEDS.

4. WHEN DISCUSSING SOUTHERN AFRICA, SODER ASSERTED THAT NO LASTING SOLUTION AND MEANINGFUL INDEPENDENCE CAN COME TO NAMIBIA AND ZIMBABWE WITHOUT THE PARTICIPATION OF THE LIBERATION MOVEMENTS NOW FIGHTING IN THOSE TWO AREAS. IN REGARD TO NAMIBIA, SHE RECALLED HOW SOUTH AFRICA HAD THREATENED TO GIVE THE AREA INDEPENDENCE ON ITS OWN TERMS IF NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE WESTERN FIVE FALL THROUGH. SUCH INDEPENDENCE, SHE SAID, WOULD BE NOTHING MORE THAN THE SHADOW INDEPENDENCE GRANTED TO THE SOUTH AFRICAN "HOMELANDS." THE FM ALSO RECALLED SOME OF THE MEASURES THE GOS HAS CALLED FOR IN REGARD TO SOUTH AFRICA, INCLUDING STUDYING LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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THE POSSIBILITY OF PROHIBITING CAPITAL TRANSFERS TO THAT COUNTRY, AND URGING THE SECURITY COUNCIL TO DECIDE ON MEASURES DIRECTED AGAINST NEW INVESTMENTS THERE. IN BRINGING UP THE CONFLICT IN THE HORN OF AFRICA, SHE STATED THE SWEDISH HOPE THAT OAU EFFORTS TO ACHIEVE A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT WOULD BE GIVEN ALL POSSIBLE SUPPORT. IN CHARACTERIZING SOVIET-CUBAN INTERVENTION IN THE WAR, SHE STATED THAT "WE TAKE EXCEPTION" TO THEIR INVOLVEMENT IN THE CONFLICT.

5. IN DESCRIBING EVENTS OF THE LAST FEW DAYS IN ISRAEL, MRS. SODER EXPLAINED THAT "THE VIOLENT DEEDS OF THE KIND WHICH TOOK PLACE THE OTHER DAY IN A RAID IN ISRAEL, WHERE MANY INNOCENT PEOPLE LOST THEIR LIVES, TROUBLE US DEEPLY. THEY MAKE IT MORE DIFFICULT TO STRIVE FOR PEACE AND DO NOT HELP THE PALISTINIANS' OWN CAUSE." AT THE SAME TIME, SHE CONDEMNED THE ISRAELI REPRISAL ACTION IN SOUTH LEBANON AS MEANING ONLY MORE HUMAN SUFFERING AND MAKING APEACEFUL SETTLEMENT EVEN MORE DIFFICULT. SHE APPEALED TO ISRAELI

LEADERS TO "BEAR THEIR RESPONSIBILITY IN MIND" AND TO
BREAK OFF THEIR ATTACK. FURTHERMORE, SHE REMINDED THAT
THE PRINCIPLE OF RECOGNITION OF ISRAEL'S RIGHT TO EXIST
IN SECURE AND RECOGNIZED BORDERS MUST BE JOINED WITH A
RECOGNITION OF THE PALESTINIANS' RIGHT TO "THEMSELVES DECIDE
THEIR OWN FUTURE...AND TO BUILD THEIR OWN STATE EXISTING
IN PEACE SIDE-BY-SIDE WITH ISRAEL IF THEY SO DESIRE."
IN THIS CONNECTION, SHE ALSO RECALLED THAT SWEDISH ACCEPTANCE
OF THE PLO AS THE MOST REPRESENTATIVE PALESTINIAN GROUP
"DOES NOT MEAN TAKING A POSITION ON THE ORGANIZATIONS'S
POLITICAL AIMS AND METHODS."

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6. PALME'S REMARKS DEALT WITH ISSUES CLOSEST TO THE
SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC HEART. FIRST ON THE ORDER OF BUSINESS,
HE FELT, WAS TO FIGHT THE EFFECTS OF THE ECONOMIC CRISIS
NOW GRIPPING THE INDUSTRIALIZED WORLD--A CONTINUATION OF
HIS STRONG EMPHASIS ON SWEDEN'S ECONOMIC DIFFICULTIES IN
PREVIOUS PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES. PALME THEN TURNED HIS
ATTENTION TO THE PROBLEMS OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN EASTERN EUROPE,
SPECIFICALLY RECALLING THE CRUSHING OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA'S
DEMOCRATIC REFORM MOVEMENT BY SOVIET TANKS TEN YEARS AGO.
PALME SAW THE STRENGTH OF DEMOCRATIC SOCIALISM IN THE
"STRUGGLE THAT IS CONTINUALLY GOING ON" IN SOME OF THE
WEST EUROPEAN COMMUNIST PARTIES TO RID THEMSELVES OF THEIR
OUT-OF-DATE ANTI-DEMOCRATIC DOCTRINES, WITH VARYING DEGREES

OF SERIOUSNESS AND SUCCESS, AS WELL AS IN THE CONTINUING
APPEALS FOR FREEDOM FROM EASTERN EUROPE.

7. REGARDING THE MIDDLE EAST, PALME CONDEMNED (AS MRS. SODER
HAD LAMENTED) ISRAELI INFLEXIBILITY IN THE WAKE OF THE HISTORIC
SADAT MISSION. PALME TOOK NOTE OF THE RECENT FATAH RAID, CALLING
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IT A "REPREHENSIBLE AND DESTRUCTIVE ACT WHICH CAN NEVER INCREASE
THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE'S RIGHT TO PEACE AND JUSTICE."
HOWEVER, HE DISTINGUISHED BETWEEN CONDEMNATION OF
PALESTINIAN TERRORISM AND ACCEPTANCE OF THE RIGHT TO
NATIONAL IDENTIFY AND A HOMELAND. WHEN DISCUSSING THE
WAR IN THE HORN OF AFRICA, PALME REFERRED TO THE
"INTERVENTION OF THE GREAT POWERS" IN THE CONFLICT,
LINKING THE US INDIRECTLY WITH EVENTS IN THAT AREA THROUGH THE
LONG-TERM AMERICAN DELIVERIES OF WEAPONS TO ETHIOPIA
IN EXCHANGE FOR BASES AND "GOOD CONTACTS WITH A REGIME
TRADITIONALLY IMPORTANT IN AFRICA." WHEN DISCUSSING
CUBAN INTERVENTION IN AFRICA, PALME DISTINGUISHED BETWEEN
THAT COUNTRY'S INVOLVEMENT IN ANGOLA, WHICH CAME "AT THE
REQUEST OF THE GOVERNMENT IN POWER," AND CONTRIBUTED TO
WARDING OFF A SOUTH AFRICAN INVASION WHICH HAD IT SUCCEEDED,
WOULD HAVE INSTALLED A "PUPPET REGIME" IN LUANDA. ON THE
OTHER HAND, THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC LEADER SAID, "WE HAVE
DISASSOCIATED OURSELVES FROM CUBA'S MILITARY INVOLVEMENT
IN ETHIOPIA EVER SINCE IT BEGAN." PALME SAW THE TIME AS
RIPE FOR A SOVIET-CUBAN WITHDRAWAL FROM THE CONFLICT, NOW
THAT "SOMALI AGGRESSION HAS CEASED."

8. IN DISCUSSING SOUTHERN AFRICA, PALME WASTED FEW WORDS IN
WARNING THAT THE FAILURE TO FIND A SOLUTION COULD LEAD TO
DISASTROUS CONSEQUENCES, INCLUDING INVOLVEMENT OF THE
SUPERPOWERS IN AN AFRICAN WAR. HE CONDEMNED THE RECENTLY
ANNOUNCED SETTLEMENT IN RHODESIA, CALLING IT TEN YEARS TOO
LATE. HE SAW THE "INTERNAL SETTLEMENT" AS A METHOD OF
SPLITTING THE AFRICANS AND GUARANTEEING CONTINUED WHITE
DOMINATION, AND WARNED THAT IT WAS IMPOSSIBLE TO ACHIEVE
A PEACEFUL AND PERMANENT SOLUTION WITHOUT THE COOPERATION
OF THE PATRIOTIC FRONT. IN THIS CONNECTION, PALME
CHARACTERIZED THE OWENS-YOUNG PLAN AS ONE THAT WAS ACCEPTED
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AS A BASIS FOR DISCUSSION BY "PRACTICALLY ALL THOSE INVOLVED
EXCEPT FOR SMITH," WHO PLACED HIS BETS ON "AGGRESSION
AGAINST HIS NEIGHBORS, MARKED WITH GREAT BRUTALITY, AND IN

THE SO-CALLED INTERNAL SOLUTION." IF THE LATTER IS ACCEPTED BY THE WEST, HE WARNED THAT THE WESTERN DEMOCRACIES WILL ONCE AGAIN BE IDENTIFIED WITH COLONIALISM AND RACISM BY THE AFRICANS. IN ANMIBIA, PALME PRAISED SWAPO FOR ITS WILLINGNESS TO COMPROMISE AND STATED THAT NO FURTHER CONCESSIONS COULD BE EXPECTED FROM THAT ORGANIZATION. THE TIME HAS COME TO INCREASE PRESSURE ON THE VORSTER REGIME, HE BELIEVES. END UNCLASSIFIED

9. BEGIN LIMITED OFFICIAL USE: COMMENT: THE VIEW OF SWEDISH FOREIGN POLICY THAT COMES OUT OF THE MARCH 15 DEBATE, ASIDE FROM ITS REMARKABLY BROAD DOMESTIC SUPPORT, IS ONE OF TAKING THE ROAD OF ENGENDERING THE LEAST POSSIBLE RESISTANCE FROM THE POWER FACTORS INVOLVED IN PARTICULAR WORLD ISSUES. THE SWEDISH POSITION IN SOUTHERN AFRICA IS MOST LIKELY DICTATED BY A PERCEPTION THAT, WITH THE AFRICA STATES BEHIND THEM, THE LIBERATION MOVEMENTS WILL HAVE THE DECISIVE POWER TO MAKE OR BREAK A SOLUTION. THE QUESTION OF WHETHER THE "INTERNAL SETTLEMENT" IN ITSELF REPRESENTS PROGRESS FROM THE PRESENT SITUATION IN RHODESIA, THEREFORE, IS NOT EVEN ASKED: IT SUFFICES THAT THE SETTLEMENT IS OPPOSED BY THE STRONGEST GUERRILLA GROUP. THAT IS ENOUGH FOR THE SWEDES TO SHY AWAY FROM EVEN THE HINT OF IDENTIFICATION WITH IT. ALTHOUGH PALME (AS WELL AS MRS. SODER) DISASSOCIATED HIMSELF FROM CUBAN INTERVENTION IN THE HORN OF AFRICA, HIS CHARACTERIZATION OF THE SOMALI MOVE INTO THE OGADEN AS "AGGRESSION" SUGGESTED THAT HE WAS NOT OVERLY CONCERNED ABOUT ETHIOPIA'S RELIANCE ON SOVIET-CUBAN AID TO EXPEL THE INVADERS. THE MIDDLE EAST DISCUSSION WAS ALSO A CAREFULLY BALANCED REITERATION OF ISRAEL'S RIGHT TO EXIST, THE PALESTINIAN RIGHT TO A HOMELAND, AND A CONDEMNATION OF PALESTINIAN TERROR AND ISRAELI COUNTER-TERROR. HOW ALL THESE CONSIDERATIONS COULD BE MADE TO COEXIST WITH EACH OTHER WAS LEFT UNSAID. FINALLY, THE GOS APPEARS LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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TO HAVE FOUND AN ACCEPTABLE POSITION ON THE NEUTRON BOMB, DISASSOCIATING ITSELF FROM THE WEAPON AT ALL SUITABLE FORUMS WHILE REFUSING TO GET INVOLVED IN CAMPAIGNS AGAINST IT WHICH COULD TAKE ON AN ANTI-AMERICAN UNDERTONE. THE SWEDISH ATTEMPT TO LINK THE WEAPON TO OTHER NEW DEVELOPMENTS IN THE STRATEGIC FIELD MAY ALSO BE SEEN AS AN ATTEMPT TO PUT SOME BALANCE IN ITS FOREIGN POLICY STATEMENTS. END LIMITED OFFICIAL USE PERRY

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